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582 621 joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

586 *Divorce and Separation:* On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since [837] it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed [588] and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment [897] are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of [608] the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always [792] effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

[578] As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

178 58 *Changes in Marriage:* The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

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593 and attitude when he is at home. Traditionally, husbands keep aloof from the petty details of the household. It is evidence of respect if the husband is not molested by his family with stories, complaints, or requests. He does not customarily inquire about the children or the events of the day when he arrives at home, nor does he expect an account from his wife. Unless he is told otherwise, the husband assumes that things are going the way he desires them. Actually, the husband learns only what the wife wishes to tell him or what he observes for himself. Since wives are held accountable for everything that happens at home, they tend to withhold information which might result in disapproval or punishment.

The husband avoids intimacy with members of his family to be respected by them. He expects them to demonstrate their respect by maintaining a proper social distance. His contacts with his children are brief and reserved. The Tepoztecan husband expects his wife to see that the children are quiet when he is at home, and it is her obligation to teach them to fear him. Men are generally not talkative at home and contribute little to family conversation, nor do they seek or expect their children to confide in them. When the husband is at home during the day, he sits apart from the rest of the family; at night he eats alone or with his grown sons and goes out or retires soon after. The loftiness of the husband's position in the home makes him remote from the family. He loses touch with the individual members and situations which he is endeavoring to control, and, inadvertently, he gives his wife and children the freedom he does not wish them to have.

In many homes, the husband's sense of security depends upon the extent to which his wife and children fear him. Some men are more violent than others and beat their wives at slight provocation. Suspicion of adultery is one of the major causes of beatings, but a wife may receive a beating for lesser offenses, such as not having a good meal ready, failure to have clean and well-ironed clothes for her husband, or selling too much corn without permission. A jealous wife, or one who questions her husband's activities or judgment, may also receive a beating. Wives are supposed to take their beatings without fighting back. Women may report their husbands to the local authorities for wife-beating, which is a recognized offense. But relatively few cases are reported, for going to such lengths may mean the separation of the couple. In many families, particularly among older couples, the role of the husband gradually comes to be little more than that of provider and punisher.

[683] [586]

It is interesting to note that in written themes, in which school children were asked to tell what they liked best about each member of the family, they invariably wrote that they liked their father because he supported them. The comments of widows concerning the death of their husbands are all phrased in terms of economic loss. One widow, when asked how she felt at the death of her husband, said, with much feeling, that at the time she had wished that it had been her young son rather than her husband because in that case she would at least have been sure of her food. Although sentiment and grief over personal loss at the death of a husband undoubtedly is present in many cases, it is not required of wives to express this grief and it is considered perfectly natural for them to emphasize the economic loss.

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578 606 her mother, and may have looked to marriage as an escape from work and supervision. When, after marriage, she finds herself working even harder for the family of her husband under the sharp, critical eye of her mother-in-law, the situation is one of jumping into the frying pan to be saved from the fire. The young wife today is more mature and more skilled than the child-wife of thirty years ago and no longer needs the mother-in-law's teaching and guidance.

Certain differences between the older and younger generation also affect mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relations. The mother-in-law, whose generation suffered the acute privation and misery of the Revolution and learned to live in the utmost economy, expects of her daughter-in-law a self-denial and economy for which the young woman is not always prepared. Often after marriage the young wife finds that she has fewer dresses and shoes, goes out much less to fiestas, to Cuernavaca, or to the movies. Many young women have learned to bathe three or [575] four times a week and to change clothing whenever soiled, much to the annoyance of their mothers-in-law who must provide the soap and clothing.

In one case a mother-in-law scolded her daughter-in-law for this and said, "What difference is it to you if your dress is a little dirty. Is it for a lover that you are keeping yourself so clean?" Many young women have now become accustomed to [302] using face powder, lipstick, cold cream, toothpaste, and fine soap, the use of which is considered distasteful and extravagant by the mother-in-law and discontinued after marriage. Many of the younger married women chafe over the restraints [484] placed upon their personal movements, their friendships, and, of course, their right to go out unaccompanied. The slow but steady increase in the freedom of the younger women, particularly of those who have spent several years in school, makes the role of the daughter-in-law more difficult.

[596] The way out of an unpleasant relationship for both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is to separate their households. Usually the young couple move out, but occasionally the old couple or the widowed mother-in-law will move away. If no other dwelling is available, separate households may be established in the same house site, with each family cooking over its own fire and carrying on its economic affairs independently. Sometimes the wife is unable to persuade her husband to move away or to convince him that she is not at fault, and is forced to continue to [596] live with her mother-in-law. Not infrequently, if the situation becomes too intolerable, the young wife will separate from her husband and return to the home of her [586] parents. It is believed in the village that many marriages have been broken because the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law did not get on well together.

606 Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relations are generally similar to father-daughter relations, only more reserved. When the daughter-in-law lives in the same [596] household, she serves the father-in-law under the direction of the mother-in-law; beyond that, contacts between the two are generally few because the men spend [835] a good deal of time away from home. A few cases of incestuous relations between daughter-in-law and father-in-law have been reported. In each of these cases the [578] father was a widower, and the indiscretion caused deep family rifts.

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As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacamisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,[6] *padrino de medida o listón*,[7] *padrino de evangelio*,[8] *padrino de escapulario, padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

*Compadres* address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respect relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred; woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.

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Abor-
842 tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women
[847] take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife
[593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking
[586] medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem
[582] from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel
[581] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be-
[851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a
[562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de*
[843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the
[462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given
[594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages
[171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.